

VOTES FOR WOMEN

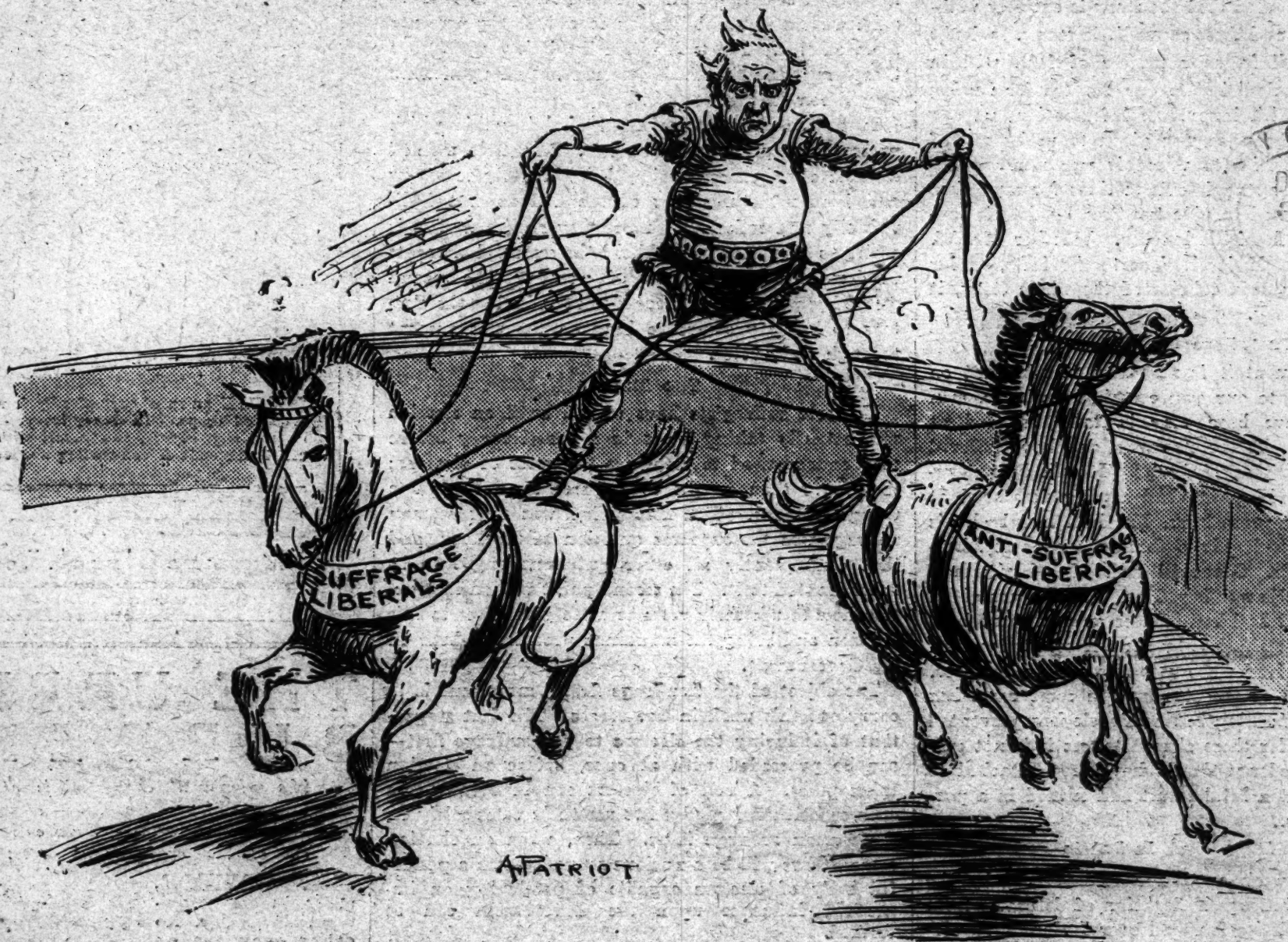
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THE ACROBAT



HOW MUCH LONGER WILL HE BE ABLE TO DO IT?

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The rift in the Liberal Party brought about by the refusal of the Cabinet to act in accordance with the fundamental principles of Liberalism on the question of woman suffrage widens day by day.

In Oldham

In Oldham, as we reported last week, the situation has become exceedingly serious. It is true that Mr. Barton, M.P., has, from a mistaken sense of duty, withdrawn his threat of immediate resignation; but if we understand his letter aright, he will not seek re-election at the general election as a Liberal candidate, unless woman suffrage has by that time been

carried or is a cardinal plank in the Liberal platform. Moreover, the controversy has brought out divisions in the rank and file of the Party in the borough. One of the vice-presidents of the Oldham Women's Liberal Association has resigned her position, while Mrs. Alderman Lees (former Mayor and once a strong Liberal partisan) writes to explain that she would never have thought of going to Mr. Asquith's meeting, as she had some time since severed her connection with the Party.

In Oxford and Cambridge

In Oxford some of the most prominent members of the Liberal Party, including Professor Gilbert Murray, whose message on woman suffrage we printed in our Christmas issue, have written a letter stating that they find it impossible to give their public support to Mr. du Parc, the Liberal candidate for the borough, owing to his anti-suffrage attitude. In Cambridge a suffragist deputation has been waiting on Mr. Harold Spender, the Liberal candidate, and members of it who have previously voted with the Liberal Party have informed him that not his personal views upon woman suffrage, but the action of his Party leaders and their refusal to introduce a Government measure will influence them in casting their votes.

The Arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst

The arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst last Saturday on her

way back to London from Paris is a flagrant illustration of the way in which the Government override the spirit of the law. By the license given to her on her release on the previous Sunday she was entitled to remain at liberty till Monday last, but because she had not given the police twenty-four hours' notice of her intention to pay a visit to Paris, though this intention was in fact publicly known, and Superintendent Quinn was himself present on the railway platform at her departure, they claimed that she had broken the terms of her license, and that they were entitled to rearrest her before the term would otherwise have been complete. To such a pass is the administration of justice being reduced by the present Government! Mrs. Pankhurst was again released last Wednesday on another seven days' license.

Free Speech in Hyde Park

Another flagrant abuse is the continued refusal of the authorities to allow certain suffrage societies the normal means of holding meetings in recognised public places. Ever since the police order in April last the Men's Political Union, unable to obtain a permit for the lorry, have been holding on Sundays a meeting in Hyde Park from an ordinary chair. These meetings have been perfectly orderly during the last few months, and recently Mr. Dural, on behalf of the Union, wrote a further request to the Office of Works, calling attention to this fact and

asking that in future a lorry might be permitted. This request has been definitely refused.

Other Suffrage Prisoners

Mrs. Crow was released on license on Wednesday in last week, and Miss Lake on the following day. Captain Gonne, who has for years bravely championed the cause of woman suffrage by every means open to him, was arrested on Friday last for refusal to pay taxes and taken to Lewes Gaol. After a three days' hunger strike he was set at liberty. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was again released on license under the Cat and Mouse Act last Monday; she had carried on the hunger and thirst strike in prison. Miss Rachel Peace is still in Holloway.

The Bethell Mystery

We have now investigated fully the facts with regard to the alleged death of Mr. Edward Bethell as a result of injuries sustained at a Liberal meeting. We are satisfied that the story is entirely without foundation, and there seems little reason to doubt that Mr. Bethell is, as a matter of fact, still in Canada. In apologising to our readers for having supplied them with inaccurate information, we can only say that the news was given to us by one of the suffrage societies to whom it was narrated by Mr. W. Bethell, a man known to them for some time past, who professed to give trustworthy details concerning the death of his brother. Whether Mr. W. Bethell was himself deceived as to the facts, or for some unknown reason fabricated the whole story, it is impossible to say.

Facts Beyond Question

To this statement it is necessary to add that on many occasions, to our own certain knowledge, men and women have been very brutally handled at Liberal meetings by the stewards, and have suffered severe and permanent injuries. It will be remembered that Mr. Hawkins had his leg fractured at Bradford a few years back, Mr. Lall had both his wrists broken, and only a fortnight ago, at Limehouse, when Mr. Churchill and Mr. Masterman addressed a public meeting, Mrs. Watkins was given a black eye, and had had bruises on arms and legs, which were all testified to by her doctor. Other men and women received deliberate blows upon the face. The recklessness of the stewards in some cases has been such that nothing but a miracle has prevented a tragedy. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that credence should have been attached to a statement that a fatal result had ensued in a particular instance.

Suffrage Week in Dublin

During last week a conference was held by the Irishwoman's Suffrage Federation of delegates from the suffrage societies from all over Ireland. Important resolutions were passed (1) demanding a Government measure for woman suffrage for the Imperial Parliament, (2) calling upon the Irish M.P.'s to insist that in any form of Irish Government women had a share. The Conference also condemned forcible feeding and the operation of the Cat and Mouse Act, and demanded that such practices be immediately discontinued. Other questions dealt with were wages, Trade Unions, and the conditions of life in Irish factories. It is hoped to hold a conference annually.

Items of Interest

In Denmark the Electoral Reform Bill, including the enfranchisement of women on the same terms as men, has reached its last stage. If it is not carried an immediate dissolution is anticipated. If it is carried, it will have to be passed again next Parliament in order to become law.

The Convocation of Durham University have decided to admit women graduates of the University to members of Convocation on the same terms as men.

The Exeter Town Council have decided that where in cases before the Courts the medical examination of a girl becomes necessary, this shall be performed by a woman doctor.

In view of the Christmas holiday, our next issue will go to press on Monday, December 22, and will be on sale in London on Tuesday and in the country on Wednesday. A feature of special interest will be an amusing suffrage play written by Miss Joan Dugdale, entitled "10, Clowning Street," which was privately performed last Tuesday in Holborn.

Don't forget that the best Christmas present for a friend is a year's prepaid subscription to the paper **VOTES FOR WOMEN.**

SUFFRAGE FIRST

Many of our readers will have time available during the Christmas Holidays which they would like to devote to the suffrage cause. We suggest to them that there is no better way than that of securing from electors promises to make woman suffrage the supreme issue of the next election in their constituency, and to take immediate steps to make candidates and the leaders of the parties acquainted with this intention.

Everyone now recognizes that it is useless wasting any more time over private members' Bills; the one and only way by which woman suffrage can be carried is by a Government measure introduced and passed through all its stages by the full authority and prestige of the Government itself.

The Government Must be Compelled to Act

The history of the last eight years has shown that the Government, in spite of the number of professing suffragists in its ranks, is, as a Government, hostile to woman suffrage, and will do nothing to enfranchise women unless driven by overwhelming pressure from outside. The task which lies before suffragists therefore is to bring such pressure to bear upon them as will compel them to act.

There are only two methods of doing this which present any prospect of success. The first method consists of militancy designed deliberately to worry and harass the members of the Government individually and collectively until they realise that it is easier to give than to withhold the essential elements of democracy in the case of women. The second method is political, and consists of inducing the electors to bring pressure to bear on the Government through their votes.

Two Stages

Hitherto suffragists have waited until an election was actually taking place in a constituency before they endeavoured to influence the votes of electors; they have then sought to impress upon them two things at once. The first point was that woman suffrage was the supreme question of the hour, and that consequently all other questions ought to be subordinated to it. The second point was an instruction how to use their votes so as to give effect to this opinion and bring the maximum pressure to bear on the Government.

The object of the "suffrage first" movement is to carry out this work in two stages. The first stage—that of inducing the electors to put suffrage first—can be proceeded with at once, before an election takes place. A roll of electors can be obtained in each constituency pledged to use their votes solely on the woman suffrage issue. Then, when an election comes, there will be a nucleus around which a powerful body of electors capable of producing an important influence upon the Government can be formed.

Send for Pledge Cards

All who can help by canvass or otherwise in securing pledges from electors are invited to write for pledge cards, which will be sent free on application to the Hon. Sec., "Suffrage First" Committee, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"
Colours: Purple, White, and Red.

Dear Fellows,—In response to many requests, two leaflets have recently been issued by the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, namely: "Let us Pray for the Church Non-Militant," an open letter to the Bishop of London; and "The Sheep that Defied the Dog," an open letter to the Average Elector. (For particulars see page 180.)

Already thousands of these leaflets have been sold, and I especially want to point out to you the opportunity which these leaflets supply of getting at people entirely outside the ranks of our movement. There is not a reader of VOTES FOR WOMEN who cannot manage to distribute personally at least fifty copies, every one of which might be made an introduction, in a new quarter, of the movement with its aims and its ideals.

May I remind you also that there is much good work that can be done during the holidays with the Fellowship Cards. Not a single day passes without the addition of many new names to our roll of Fellows. When every individual becomes a centre of influence and of information, it means that the Women's Movement is strengthening its roots deeper and deeper every day into the life of the nation.

Yours, in the Fellowship,

Emeline Pethick Lawrence.

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THE RIFT IN THE LIBERAL PARTY

Strained Position in Oldham—Oxford Liberals Repudiate Anti-Suffrage Liberal Candidate—Cambridge Liberals Demand Government Measure

Although no by-election is forthcoming at Oldham, as seemed probable when we last went to press, Mr. Barton's protest against the action of his Liberal Executive in excluding certain Liberal women from Mr. Asquith's meeting has had the effect of widening the division between the Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage wings of the Liberal Party. There has been more than one indication of revolt among rank and file Liberals, the most important being perhaps the spirited letter addressed to the President of the Oxford Liberal Association by eminent members of the University, who, being Suffragists because they are truly Liberals, refuse to pledge themselves to vote for the Oxford Liberal candidate because he is an Anti-Suffragist. At the sister University, on the occasion of a Suffrage deputation to the Cambridge Liberal candidate, Mr. Harold Spender, it was hinted forcibly by members of the deputation who were both Liberals and Suffragists, that their votes would only be given to him if the Government whose nominee he was should make Woman Suffrage a plank of its programme. At Edinburgh, a campaign is being waged in the two Liberal divisions of the city by prominent Liberal electors, whose motto is—"Votes for Women, or the resignation of the Government."

As a counterblast to all this, a Liberal Men's Association for Women's Suffrage has been hurriedly formed for the purpose of organising Suffragist Liberal electors in every constituency. Its formation has so far met with a mixed reception, the *Manchester Guardian*, for instance, giving it every encouragement, while the *Daily Herald* voices the feelings of many Suffragists by remarking that all Liberals who are really keen on the question left the Party long ago, and the new Association will but induce "a few simple souls" to stay in it a little longer.

We should have thought it was quite evident by this time that the only effective way of influencing the Government was by vigorous and unflinching attack.

MR. BARTON, M.P., AND THE LIBERAL ASSOCIATION

By-Election Avoided—Intellect and Soul of England Behind Suffrage Movement

It was announced in the Press last Saturday morning that Mr. A. W. Barton, M.P. for Oldham, had on consideration decided not to resign his seat during the life of the present Parliament on account of the difference which had arisen between him and the Executive Committee of the Oldham Liberal Association. Our readers will remember that, as stated by us last week, this difference arose on the question of the non-admission of Liberal women to the meeting addressed by the Prime Minister, and involved, as Mr. Barton pointed out in an interview, the wider question of woman suffrage and the whole political position of women.

MR. BARTON'S REASONS

In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* Mr. Barton gives as his reason for deciding to remain in Parliament "until he has exhausted the authority given him by the electors," the fact that he had received a large number of communications from his constituents, one of which (from a working man) he quotes as follows:—

"Now keep with us. On this great question which you set such store on, educate us to your views as you have done on others. . . . Why leave us? Can you honestly say you have a right because of something we had nothing to do with?"

"To that extent," concludes Mr. Barton, "there is a flaw in my position, and until I have exhausted the authority they gave me I must return to my duty in Oldham and in Parliament."

Other Correspondents

To Suffragists the interesting point in Mr. Barton's letter is a passage dealing with other communications that he re-

ceived when the first rumour of his possible resignation was circulated.

"Roughly," he says of this mass of correspondence with which he was "deluged," "I find about one-tenth of letters . . . anonymous mostly, concerned with tithe, mint, and cummin, the awful tragedy of the loss of a seat, the end of my political career, and other things of equal importance. These I shall burn."

The Great Bulk

"Then comes the great bulk. Human kindness in words glowing, palpitating with encouragement, and some of them from men and women so distinguished in their several walks in life as to make them treasures not to be bought with money; but what a revelation to me!"

"Women's suffrage—justice to women from men born of women—stands in a strange way politically, but it has much of the intellect and most of the soul of England behind it."

"CAREFULLY SELECTED, OF COURSE"

The *Manchester Guardian*, commenting in a leader on Mr. Barton's final decision, says in reference to the action of the Executive in excluding the Liberal women from the meeting:—

"There is no doubt that the authors of this proceeding now heartily regret it, and next time a Cabinet Minister comes to Oldham he may expect to see in his audience not fifteen, but, we should hope, ten times that number of women, carefully selected of course, but as trustworthy and guiltless of any desire or intention to offend as any man in the assembly."

The italics are ours. To what a pass has Liberalism come in this country if one of its chief organs can print such a denial of its own principles as the passage quoted above!

THE WOMEN LIBERALS

One of the vice-presidents of the Oldham Women's Liberal Association, Mrs. A. S. Taylor, has resigned her position, and in a letter to the honorary secretary gives as her reason "the action taken by the Executive of the Oldham L.A. in excluding women from the Prime Minister's meeting."

Mrs. Taylor adds: "I think I am, perhaps, the oldest member, having joined it at its formation more than twenty years ago. The term Liberal means something different now—certainly not liberty."

MRS. ALDERMAN LEES

Mrs. Lees, ex-Mayor of Oldham, writes to the *Manchester Guardian* to correct a report that she was one of the fifteen excluded Liberal women.

"I never had the slightest intention," she says, "of attending Mr. Asquith's meeting, and when his coming was first mentioned I made it quite plain that I should not go. As to the discourtesy of refusing admittance to fifteen women who have worked hard for the Liberal cause both at municipal and Parliamentary elections I feel too indignant to write calmly."

LIBERAL MEN'S ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

An Association, of which Mr. Barton has consented to be chairman, has been formed for the purpose of uniting and organising Liberals who are in favour of woman suffrage. It is to be independent of any women's society, will consist of men only, and will endeavour to set up in every constituency a local branch of the Association.

A Hopeful Comment

The *Manchester Guardian*, in a leading article, hopefully anticipates that the formation of this Association may hasten the time "when the party as a whole will recognise the duty which it owes to half the community, and when it will not be possible to form a Liberal Government which does not make the enfranchisement of qualified women part of its declared policy."

"A Few Simple Souls"

The *Daily Herald* is sceptical. "There are not very many men," it says, "who are particularly keen about the suffrage . . . who still remain in the Liberal Party. They left long ago. The new association may still persuade a few simple souls to join this unworthy Government a little longer."

OXFORD LIBERAL ELECTORS IN REVOLT

Important Protest

An Anti-Suffragist, Mr. du Parcq, has been adopted as Liberal candidate for Oxford, and in consequence of this reactionary step the following letter has been sent to Mr. John Massie, President of the Oxford Liberal Association:—

December 11, 1913.

We, the undersigned Oxford Liberals, wish to express to you, as president of the Oxford Liberal Association, our regret that the Association has chosen a candidate who is, even at this hour, opposed to the enfranchisement of women. Momentous as we feel the present crisis to be, and greatly as we desire the advance of the Liberal cause in Oxford, we find it impossible publicly to support an anti-suffragist candidate, and cannot even give any pledge to vote for him.

(Signed) H. P. Allen, O. Bailey, J. Bernard Baker, Sidney Ball, A. J. Carlyle, E. I. Carlyle, D. L. Chapman, W. H. Dixon, James Drummond, H. M. Fletcher, W. H. Fyfe, W. M. Geldart, Henry T. Gillett, C. Grant Robertson, A. J. Herbertson, W. Hoey, A. D. Lindsay, C. C. Lynam, D. S. Margoliouth, T. S. Moore, Gilbert Murray, D. R. Pye, John Rhys, Henry Scott Holland, Arthur Sidgwick, J. L. Stocks, Arnold J. Toynbee, Ernest Walker.

Eminent Signatories

As the *Manchester Guardian* points out, the signatories to this protest are among the most eminent members of the University. Professor Geldart, for instance, being Vinerian Professor of English Law; Professor Gilbert Murray, Regius Professor of Greek; Professor Herbertson Reader in Geography; Professor Margoliouth, Laudian Professor of Arabic—and so on. It is to be hoped that the protest signed by them will therefore carry weight. We have long given up expecting that a Liberal protest will carry weight solely because of its Liberalism!

SUFFRAGE AND LIBERALISM AT CAMBRIDGE

Deputation to Liberal Candidate

A deputation from the Cambridge Women's Suffrage Association (N.U.W.S.S.) met the Liberal candidate for the Borough of Cambridge (Mr. Harold Spender) on Saturday, December 13, in order to receive his answers to the three test questions put by the N.U.W.S.S. to candidates:—(1) Would he put suffrage for women in his election address? (2) Would he urge upon the Government to bring in a Bill specifically for the enfranchisement of women? (3) Would he refuse to vote for any Bill for extending the franchise to men, in which women were not included.

Merely "in Favour"

Mrs. Heitland introduced the deputation, which consisted of about eighty persons, and pointed out that a Liberal candidate who was merely "in favour" of women's suffrage, as Mr. Spender was known to be, could be of little practical service to women, for they could only see in him a supporter of a Government which was—in effect—Anti-Suffragist.

Impossible to Vote Liberal

Mr. Ramsey, fellow and tutor of Magdalen College, speaking as a "life-long Liberal," stated that he now found it impossible to vote for a Liberal candidate, since the Government had thrown over their principles on this essential point of democracy, and he was waiting for the Liberal Government to redeem its pledges.

Mr. Kellett, classical master at the Leys School, said he spoke as a Liberal who preferred justice even to Mr. Asquith, much as he admired the Prime Minister and approved of the other measures introduced or passed by the present Government.

Mrs. Rackham, after referring to militancy, which she said she had found unpopular, said she had met with the acceptance everywhere, all over the country, of the principle of woman suffrage.

MR. SPENDER'S REPLY

Mr. Spender replied to the first two questions in the affirmative. He would certainly put suffrage in his election address, and would urge the Government to introduce a Woman's Suffrage Bill.

That "Tried Friend"

To the third question he replied that it must depend upon circumstances, and he begged the deputation to trust him as "a tried friend for twenty years." He admitted that it would be difficult to carry a Bill for the enfranchisement of men in which women were not included; then, with an immense effort, went so far as to say that if a woman's Franchise Bill were being promoted, and a man's Suffrage Bill were being pushed across its course so as to injure it, he would then vote against the further enfranchisement of men. Having covered himself against every possibility of enforced action in the future, Mr. Spender

then concluded by exhorting his listeners to regard Liberal suffragists like himself as "tried friends," to be grappled to the soul with "hoops of steel."

The Fourth Question

There is a fourth question we should like to ask Mr. Spender. If the matter under discussion were not woman suffrage, but some other plank of Liberalism—such as Home Rule, for instance—what would be his definition of a "tried friend?"

THE FORCE OF SIMPLICITY

Northern Men's Federation

There is an attractive simplicity and directness about the demand of the Edinburgh Northern Men's Federation for "Votes for women, or the resignation of the Government." This is the motto of the campaign now being carried on in the two Liberal constituencies of South and Central Edinburgh. Weekly meetings are being held with great success in both divisions, at which the speakers are all electors and prominent citizens of Edinburgh.

ANOTHER LIBERAL REBEL

A Liberal Churchman's Protest

The following letter has been sent to the Secretary of the National Liberal Club by the Rev. C. Baumgarten:—

Dear Sir,—Please note that I now definitely send in my resignation as a member of the National Liberal Club, with which I have been associated for the past thirty years. I entirely agree with your contention as to the difficulty of carrying out a progressive policy, or even of maintaining the existence of a Liberal party if members are to be perpetually resigning on account of minor differences of opinion. It was in consideration of this that I retained my membership when the Disendowment clauses of the Welsh Church Bill (clauses which I considered as not only ungenerous but ignoble) passed the House of Commons. But one has to draw the line somewhere, and I draw it at the point where Mr. McKenna, with, I presume, the approval of his colleagues, indulges in a line of action which a later generation and a calmer judgment will have no difficulty in identifying with useless torture and brutal cruelty. Even the most degraded bargee would cease flogging his horse when once it had dawned upon his limited intelligence that the infliction of no amount of punishment could secure the desired result. I anyhow find myself entirely unable to stand placidly on one side while such a policy (enforced as against women and ignored as against men) is being carried out by a Liberal Minister with, apparently, no better consequences than enlarging his stock of experience; while, if rumour speaks truly, it is imposing an almost intolerable strain upon those subordinates whom he compels to carry out his orders.

I do not anticipate ever joining any other party than that with which I have always been associated, but I find myself unable either to vote or to use what little influence I have on its behalf so long as the administration of the law remains so entirely inconsistent not only with Liberal and democratic principles, but also with the administration of even-handed justice.

—Yours faithfully,

C. BAUMGARTEN.
St. George's Rectory, Bloomsbury, W.C.,
December, 1913.

FROM THE PRESS

We do not approve—indeed, we deplore—the tactics which have been adopted by the militant Suffragists, but we fail to understand how the actions of these brave but, as we believe, misguided people, can be considered to affect, one way or the other, a question which should solely be concerned with justice and right. . . . That, we take it, is the Liberal view of the position, and we regret that a number of prominent Liberals seem to have adopted an entirely illiberal attitude in this particular connection. *Birkenhead News*.

It is a significant fact that the Liberal party should have sanctioned forcible feeding, because for a quarter of a century Liberal politicians have been declaring that "force is no remedy." In dealing with women the Liberals are pledging themselves to the opposite policy—that is, to the principle that "force is a remedy." . . . It will not be possible for long to treat the women suffragists as ordinary criminals. They have a grievance that ought to be redressed. It will have to be redressed before suffragist outrages will cease. *Nottingham Guardian*.

FEELING IN THE COUNTRY

Mr. W. A. PEASE, M.P., AT BIRKBECK COLLEGE

Doubtful Vote of Thanks—Retirement Under Police Escort

On Wednesday, December 10, the President of the Board of Education was again reminded of the tyranny and torture which he, as a member of the Cabinet, is inflicting upon those who are demanding the elementary rights of citizenship. In spite of elaborate precautions taken to exclude Suffragists, several protests were made.

The occasion was the celebration of Founder's Day, and among the graduates for the year who were presented were a number of women; but, when Mr. Pease was reminded by women in the audience of the glaring injustice of woman's present position, two of the interrupters were carried out. Some of the athletes of the College acted as stewards, and as they were heartily sick of their duties, the interrupters were subjected to far less violence than is usual at meetings addressed by Liberal ministers. One of the graduates, on being presented, took the opportunity of protesting to Mr. Pease against the present inequalities in the position of men and women students, while another graduate refused to be presented to one who upholds the Government's policy of coercion and suppression. There was a remarkable demonstration when the vote of thanks to Mr. Pease was put to the meeting; it is still uncertain whether the vote was carried at all, since the acclamation was of a very mixed character. Mr. Pease finally left the building by a back door with a police escort.

IMPRISONMENT OF A TAX RESISTER

Captain Gonne, R.A., was arrested at his residence at Bognor last Saturday night and taken to Lewes Gaol for non-payment of Imperial taxes. Captain Gonne, whose wife is a member of the Women's Tax Resistance League, refused to pay her income tax because he does not believe in taxation without representation. He further refused to pay his own taxes (and has so refused for three years) as a protest against the Government's treatment of the Woman Suffrage question. Captain Gonne adopted the hunger strike, and was released on Monday evening. At the time of his arrest he was in a very serious state of health, arising out of former ill-treatment at Liberal meetings; yet when he was released no message was sent to his relatives, and he had to travel home by train alone.

SUFFRAGIST PROTEST AT THE OPERA

The King and Queen attended the performance of "Joan of Arc" at Covent Garden on Saturday evening, and four Suffragists in a box opposite the Royal Box made a protest against the arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst. When the curtain went down at the end of the first act one of the Suffragists rose and commenced to address their Majesties and the house through a megaphone. She compared Mrs. Pankhurst to Joan of Arc, and said that while honouring the memory of the one by their presence, the King and Queen seemed to ignore the other. The Suffragist's companions had meantime pinned a banner bearing the words, "Women are being tortured in your Majesty's prisons," on to the front of their box, and women in the gallery were showering down leaflets on the house. As the Suffragists had barricaded the door of their box, five minutes elapsed before an entrance could be forced, the occupants were then escorted from the building. The women who had thrown the leaflets from the gallery were at the same time ejected.

FORCIBLE FEEDING

RELIGIOUS LEAGUE PROTESTS

The following resolution was passed at a meeting of the League of the Kingdom, held on December 9, 1913:—

That this meeting of the League of the Kingdom regards with indignation and disgust the torture in the form of forcible feeding which has been introduced into His Majesty's prisons for the sake of compelling prisoners to eat, as they were formerly tortured to compel them to confess; it condemns this torture as illegal and unconstitutional, foreign to English traditions and contradictory of the humane spirit of Christ.

The League further condemns the Cat and Mouse Act as a cowardly device for

averting odium from the Government, and useless for any purpose.

Moreover, while the League deplures all breaches of the criminal law, it holds that full responsibility for those committed in the name of woman's suffrage must be placed on the Government, which by its initial blunder in treating political offenders as ordinary criminals; by its encouragement of brutality; and by its shifty treatment of women throughout has provoked the disorders which all deplore.

The League calls, therefore, on the Government to justify its claim to the name of Liberal by taking immediate steps to redress the grievances of women and to end once and for all the torturing of prisoners.

A copy of the above resolution has been sent to members of the Cabinet, the Labour members, the Bishops of the Established Church, and to Ministers of the Free Churches.

PENAL REFORMERS PROTEST

In the Annual Report of the Penal Reform League, just issued, some strong comments are made on the revival of forcible feeding in our prisons. It is very firmly pointed out that—

"If the operation in question achieved its object there would be that one argument in its favour; but it does not. After upsetting and demoralising the prison staff and régime, and degrading the whole nation, the prisoner, after all, may be discharged a still more pitiable wreck, and the law is brought into contempt all the same."

Operation or Assault?

The Report goes on to show the absurdity of comparing the artificial feeding of lunatics with the forcible feeding of prisoners, and says: "We say that the first is a medical operation, and that the second is an unwarrantable assault. Even if it were a purely medical measure we should object to the Medical Officer being dictated to by the Home Office. Moreover, there is a vast difference between the atmosphere of a hospital or asylum and that of a prison, and the relations between the patients on the one hand and the doctors and nurses on the other in hospital are very different from the relations between prisoners and officials in prisons."

PROFESSOR TOUT ON MILITANCY

Speaking on woman suffrage near Manchester last week, Professor Tout, of Manchester University, made what was at least a statesmanlike allusion to militancy.

Everybody agreed, he said, that there were conditions when the law could, and must be, broken, though the great difficulty was to decide when the occasion was. But given persons who had been worried for a generation by false promises, by lying hopes and verbal agreements, who had found that all the talk was merely talk, one could understand that they might lose their heads and fall back on methods which were perhaps inexpedient in the light of the timidity of the ordinary British layman.

"SECOND ONLY TO THAT OF DEATH"

The lawyers for Governor Sulzer pleaded with the court not to add to impeachment the penalty of disfranchisement—"a punishment second only to that of death." What crime have women committed that all of them should suffer this penalty and disgrace?—*Judge.*

IN DENMARK

(From Our Own Correspondent)

At the first meeting of the Joint Committee which has been appointed by the Danish Parliament with the object of discussing the Government Reform Bill that includes woman suffrage, Mr. Klaus Berntsen, formerly Premier, was elected President of the Committee. This is a favourable appointment from the women's point of view, as Mr. Berntsen is known as a great supporter of woman suffrage.

A Critical Moment

The Committee stage is the last Parliamentary stage of the Bill. If the Committee fails to adjust matters, the next step to be taken must be to dissolve the Upper House, and go to the country with the whole question.

T. D.

The Reform Bill which has reached this critical stage in the Danish Parliament was introduced into the Lower House by Herr Zahle, the Danish Premier, on September 17. It includes woman suffrage on equal terms with men, and, in order to become law, must pass through both Houses in two successive Parliaments. Danish women already possess full municipal rights, including that of sitting on municipal bodies.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Assault on a Wife

The *Aberdeen Evening Express* (November) reports case of a fisherman charged before Baillie Young, at Aberdeen Police Court, with disorderly behaviour and assaulting his wife. He came home from sea and demanded supper. When she said she had no money to buy food, he set upon her with his fists, then broke up the furniture, clock, pictures, and all the crockery. Sentence: Fine of £3, or twenty days' imprisonment.

Driving to the Public Danger

The *Daily Citizen* and other papers (December 12) report case of chauffeur of car (which had overturned and killed three people), charged with driving at a dangerous speed, estimated at twenty-five miles per hour.

Sentence: Licence suspended for six months, and fined 40s.

The *Daily Citizen* (December 15) reports case of two motor-bus drivers, charged with racing at twenty-three miles an hour through Lewisham High Street. Each had been driver of an omnibus which caused a fatal accident.

Sentence: Fined £8 and 2s. costs each.

HEAVY SENTENCES

Uttering a Forged Cheque

The *Times* (December 11) reports case of a dental surgeon, aged eighteen, charged before the Common Serjeant at the Old Bailey with uttering a forged cheque. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: Five years' penal servitude.

On the following day the Common Serjeant, in consideration of prisoner's youth, reduced sentence to three years' penal servitude.

Forging Telegrams

The *Times* (December 10) reports case of a Post Office telegraphist, charged with forging telegrams and obtaining £30 by that means. He was given a good character, and was said to be in hands of moneylenders, from whom he had borrowed money to get married.

Sentence: Nine months' imprisonment.

THE BRESLAU SCANDAL

A very forcible article, of which a correspondent has kindly sent us a translation, recently appeared in the *Frauenfrage* (November 16) by Anna Pappritz, commenting upon a scandalous case of immorality which had been occupying the attention of the Breslau Law Courts, and in which little girls and middle-aged men were involved.

"Not the Girls—but the Men"

"The feature of particular interest to us in this wretched affair," says Anna Pappritz, "is the reason given for the judgment. In the latter it was stated amongst other evidence (report in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, No. 535, October 21, 1913): 'The girls have conducted themselves like ordinary prostitutes, have tempted men, and sold themselves in order to spend their easily earned money on sweets. It is a deeply distressing and mortifying picture of life in a large town, and nothing further. In several cases solely the *dolus eventualis* was accepted. The accused had, however, to reckon with the fact that the girls were not yet fourteen years old. Not the girls, but the men, who had not sufficient moral strength to resist the temptation, were the victims.'"

The Facts

The facts of the case are then outlined by Frau Pappritz. The accused numbered thirty-six, two of whom escaped judgment by committing suicide. Some were acquitted on account of "insufficient evidence," while "extenuating circumstances" were accorded to the rest, who received sentences varying from six months up to (in one case) three years. The public prosecutor suggested several years' hard labour, for the thing had been going on for a long period, and while one of the girls had reached the age of seventeen, the other was still under fourteen. (The men were of good position and advanced age—a merchant, a director, and so on.) But comparatively light sentences were given, evidently under the influence of the judgment quoted above.

"Take Care of this Girl"

"Unfortunately," continues the article, "such cases occur much oftener than is generally supposed, as they comparatively seldom lead to legal proceedings, for generally the girls do not even know the names of their seducers. . . . How is it that no man, when accosted by such a child, ever takes her by the hand and gives her into the care of some society, or woman friend, with the request, 'Take care of this girl'? In my long experience of this work not a single case has occurred of a man taking this natural and easy step. And why not? In the reason given for the judgment passed at Breslau we have the answer to this question: 'Men have not sufficient moral strength to resist these temptations.'"

"Greatest Insult to Men"

Frau Pappritz then makes a fine point. "In my estimation," she says, "this excuse is the greatest insult to men, and it is inexplicable to me that men do not protest against being estimated as the morally weaker sex. If grown men in responsible positions possess so little control that they fall victims to half-grown girls, they morally renounce their right of playing the principal rôle in the State and in society. In all debates concerning 'Women's Rights,' it is constantly being emphasised on the part of the men that women do not

possess the necessary objectivity, that they allow themselves to be swayed too much by their feelings, and therefore are unsuited to perform the duties of jurymen or judges. Now, I think the Breslau judgment proves that these men allow themselves to be swayed by their feelings to a far greater extent—the accused by the strength of the temptation, the judges by their sympathy with their own 'weak sex.'"

The Moral

The moral drawn by Anna Pappritz is that women must demand that in such enquiries a woman judge shall sit beside the man judge on the Bench.

The Suffragist comment that at once occurs to the mind on reading the terrible details of the Breslau case is well expressed in the December issue of *Jus Suffragii*: "Every woman's heart," it says, "must burn within her as she realises that the daughters of her country are at the mercy of such laws and such administration. Women were excluded from hearing the trial of this case. No woman's voice from the judge's bench or jury box could make itself heard on behalf of outraged childhood. These intolerable wrongs will not be righted till women, as citizens, can claim the right to have a voice in the punishment of evildoers."

WOMEN'S PRESENCE IN THE COURTS

An Important Reform Effectuated

We commented in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* (October 24) on a case in the Exeter Police Court of an assault upon a little girl by an ostler, when a protest against the exclusion of women from the Court was made by Miss Baly, then Hon. Press Secretary of the S.W. Federation of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

Town Council Takes Action

Arising out of this incident in the police court a campaign has been conducted by the Exeter branch of the N.U.W.S.S., who, with the help of an Alderman, have succeeded in getting a resolution passed by the Town Council to the effect that whenever in a case of this kind a medical examination of a girl child or young person, or of a woman is necessary, that examination shall be conducted by a medical woman.

In Exeter there is a qualified resident woman doctor, and it is hoped that, at least in those towns where this is also the case, the example of Exeter will be followed.

WOMEN'S TAXES AND POLICE PROTECTION

"A. S. B." in the *Woman's Journal* (Boston) tells a terrible story of two policemen in Pittsburg, who were recently found guilty of contributing to the delinquency of two young girls by "enticing the girls to a house of ill repute. The two young women ended their lives by suicide."

"A. S. B." adds this comment, which will appeal to many Suffragists who have been the victims of police violence in this country:—

"When women protest against taxation without representation, they are told that they get the worth of their taxes in police protection, &c. Women do not object to paying for police protection, but they want some voice as to what sort of protection it shall be. In many big cities the police are in league with vice and crime. They are paid to protect the public, and the pay is taken partly out of women's pockets; but when they prey upon the public instead, and become not a safeguard but an actual danger to women, women have no power to refuse their support to a city government, which maintains that kind of police and connives at their misdeeds."

DRAMA AND MUSIC

THE WOMAN'S THEATRE "A Gauntlet"

For their second play at the Coronet the Woman's Theatre gave us a fine performance of Björnson's "Gauntlet," translated by Mr. Farquharson Sharp. With dignity and restraint Miss Edyth Olive played Mrs. Riis and Miss Ernita Lascelles as Svava had all the vivacity, the charm, and the earnestness that belongs to the heroine's part. When disillusionment comes, and the heart, but not the will, is broken, Miss Lascelles showed us that sorrow and bitterness could be interpreted as finely as love and joy. Mr. O. B. Clarence as Riis worked hard all the time, and got every ounce out of the part. It was an immense and popular success, Mr. Clarence's Riis, and we were all thankful to this excellent actor for cheering us up. Where would the play be without the comic touch supplied by Riis?

Mr. Rupert Harvey's Dr. Nordan, played with grave and kindly thoughtfulness, as it should be, remotely suggested the Vicar of Wakefield—and why not? As for the Christensens—mother, father, and son—they are thankless parts all three, and Alfred in especial makes an awful poor appearance; but it would be difficult to find a better cast than Mr. Charles Vane, Miss Phyllis Manners, and Mr. J. Harry Irvine for the Christensens. Miss Winifred Mayo, who produced the play, deserved all the congratulations she received.

The Play

With regard to the play itself, we said, when we reviewed it at the time of its production by the Play Actors last February, that it is difficult to believe that Björnson wrote it thirty years ago. We of the progressive woman's movement have come to regard almost as a commonplace the woman's right to claim that a man's past shall be as "clean" as that of the woman he asks in marriage. But in spite of the immense progress that has been made in the last six or seven years in this respect, a large proportion of the public does not yet regard the matter in this light, and the woman's movement therefore owes a good deal to the Woman's Theatre for having chosen "A Gauntlet" as one of the two plays to be produced by them in their inaugural week. The fair way in which both the man's and the woman's case is put, the courage of the girl who refuses to accept the current standards of morality, and the note of hope at the end which makes the right concession to human nature without conceding principle, are all elements that go towards making Björnson's a great play.

THE SOUVENIR

Anyone wishing to add to her (or his) collection of relics of the woman's movement of the last seven years could not do better than buy the Souvenir of the Woman's Theatre. Besides being worth keeping for its association with one of the pluckiest artistic ventures of modern times, it forms in itself a really delightful possession. There are excellent pictures of the men and women connected with the famous week—December 8-13—dramatists, players, managers, supporters. There are also articles by Cicely Hamilton, Bernard Shaw, Flora Annie Steel, and William Archer. It would make an admirable Christmas card—of a superior kind. And it can be had from the Actresses' Franchise League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, for the reduced price of 6d., post free 7d.

A STUDENTS' CONCERT

Miss Ada Moore's Pupils at the Criterion

There were two outstanding points in Miss Ada Moore's delightful pupils' concert which made themselves felt over and above the general excellence of the afternoon's entertainment. The first was the easy production and clearness of diction noticeable in the case of each performer, which enabled those possessed of only small or moderate-sized voices to make them carry from one end of the large room to the other with seemingly little or no effort; the second was the fine sense of the drama and colour in the music, which was apparent particularly in Miss Carr's singing, and in the rendering of the two choruses and the part song included in the programme.

In the small amount of space at our disposal it is impossible to mention all those who contributed to the afternoon's entertainment. Miss Carr stood out owing to her cultured sympathetic singing, her reticence and control, and the capacity she displayed for giving a stamp of individuality to songs which, at the mercy of any less finished artist, might have proved ordinary and uninteresting.

Miss Evelyn White was very charming in Brahms' "Zigeunerlieder," the quietness of her method adding considerably to the dramatic value of her performance. Miss Reeves, who has a fine contralto voice and some really wonderful low notes, gave a delightful rendering of "Buy my Strawberries." Miss Vera Brown, who has a pleasant, light voice, sang with a welcome want of *façon*, as did also Miss Hose in her rendering of "My ships," by Barrat; and several other of Miss Moore's pupils testified equally to the intelligence and success of their training.

G. S.



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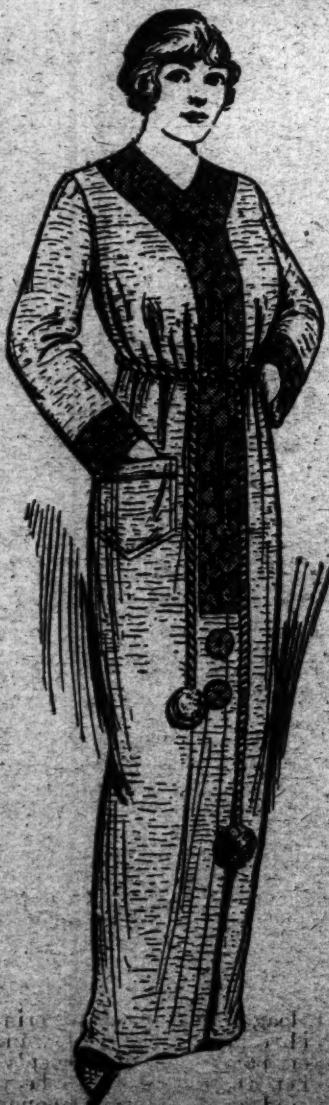
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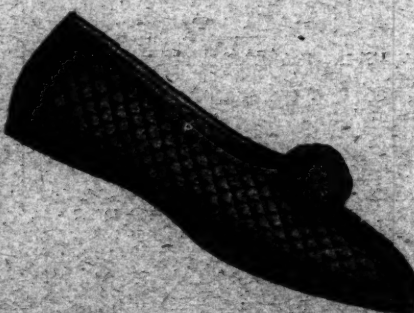
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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1913.

MEN'S PITILESS LAW

In the *Times* of December 12, under the headline "A Mother Sentenced to Death," is to be found the report of a horrible and piteous scene which took place before Mr. Justice Ridley in the Central Criminal Court on the preceding day. Mr. Muir, the prosecutor for the Director of Public Prosecutions, put before the judge the case against the prisoner, who was a mother accused of the murder of an illegitimate little son. The boy was born before the marriage of his young mother with her present husband, not his father. At the time of his death he was four and a half years of age, and she twenty-six, with two younger children born in wedlock. The husband and wife had lived unhappily together, the boy Johnnie being the chief cause of their disagreement. Last September he deserted her, and he was ordered to pay her fourteen shillings a week for the maintenance of herself and the children—"a sum wholly adequate," Mr. Muir pointed out to the judge. One day she called for Johnnie at the house where he was staying (for the husband had refused to allow him to live at home). She came back alone, saying that she had lost him while looking in a shop window, but on being questioned further she confessed to having murdered him because she thought if she could get rid of him her husband would return to her. The police found at her lodgings the body of her child.

The defence was that the prisoner was mad with grief, anxiety, and despair, and so driven with the accumulation of miseries that she did not know what she was doing. Sentence of death was passed. The Clerk of the Court asked the prisoner if she had anything to say in stay of execution. She replied: "I am pregnant." The woman's statement was confirmed. The judge ordered the execution to be postponed until after the child should have been delivered.

Before we consider the relation of this piteous tale to the tragedy which womanhood and motherhood have become in our savage civilisation, let us set it, side by side, with another story, which can be found in the *Times* of the preceding day, December 11, under the headline "Damages for Seduction." It is the report of a successful suit for financial compensation brought by an engine-driver against a man who had injured his property, namely, the person of his daughter, aged seventeen years. The defendant was a medical man who practised as a physician. He had engaged this young girl as a typist to copy manuscripts on medical subjects. One day he invited her to take a cup of tea. A few minutes afterwards she was suffering from violent headache and such

overpowering drowsiness that she could scarcely lift her head. The doctor urged her to go upstairs and lie down. She slept for two hours. The next day, a similar thing happened. This time she woke to find her employer in the room. A few days later he asked her to marry him, telling her that he was now divorced from his wife and free; but she refused. He then dismissed her. This happened in November. In the following July the girl became a mother. The doctor did not appear in Court, and had not instructed his solicitor to defend him. The allegation against him was that he had drugged the girl and had taken advantage of her unconscious condition. The jury awarded the father £350 damages, and judgment was entered accordingly.

The inter-relation of these two cases cannot be completely realised without reference to yet a third instance of the application of the law, a report of which will be found in the *Times* of November 22. On the preceding day a fitter, charged at the Middlesex Sessions, before Mr. Montague Sharp, with stealing two motor bicycles, was, as a first offender, condemned to three years' penal servitude.

To visualise these three human dramas, taken almost at random from contemporary records, and to consider their significance, is to let in a flood of light upon the meaning of the determined and passionate demand that women are making to-day for equality, both in the making and in the administration of the law.

Contrasting the last case recorded here with the second one, we see a vivid illustration of the value set by the law upon material property and the value set on a girl's body and life. What is there to prevent in the case of the unhappy girl a tragedy, in the future as terrible as that of the wretched mother of an illegitimate child, who is now awaiting the birth of her fourth child as a prisoner condemned to the gallows? Nothing but the precarious life and the precarious goodwill of one man—her father. At eighteen years of age she finds herself the sole legal parent of a child for whose life and welfare she must answer to the State. Handicapped in her struggle to earn a livelihood, how easily may she be forced by circumstances to accept dependence upon a husband, and the promise of his protection for her illegitimate child, only to be taunted afterwards as the other miserable woman was taunted, only to be deserted as that despairing mother was deserted, with a child in her womb, with the responsibility of three helpless babies under five years of age, and with a body and mind distraught and driven beyond the bounds of reason.

There is a sex bar, women are told, when they claim their full human rights as members of the State—including their right to a share in making, administering, and interpreting the law.

There is no sex bar when the full weight of the penalty of the law falls upon women, no ruth for the agony of child-bearing and child-birth, no pity for the unborn life that can be married and blighted before its career is begun.

The law made by men alone and administered by men alone represents a conception of justice utterly alien to that realised by women.

Women, with your happy children round your knees, full of joyful anticipation of the coming festival associated with the Name of Mary's Son, think of that young mother with the unborn child beneath her heart, now locked up in the solitary confinement of a prison cell, alone with the horror of her mad crime! Think of the child that is to come into the world under the shadow of the gallows.

"This crime-stained, ruined life is beyond all help of ours," you say. Yes, but there are children in the schools, there are young girls standing full of hope upon the threshold of their career who, unless women in the strength of this great agitation for freedom to-day can establish a new standard of equal morality, a new value for womanhood as an equal half of the human race, will be ground to the dust, as woman during ages past has been, by the heels of man's cruel lust and man's pitiless law. Our task is nothing less than the re-adjustment of all the values of life as they have been determined by one sex alone. The raising of the value of human life beyond the value of property, the guardianship of the purity and the health of the human race, the sacredness of motherhood, the supreme rights of childhood are the ideals of the Woman's Movement, and will only be attained when women as well as men are represented in the making and administering of the legal system by which the community is governed.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

By Gladys Mendl (Mrs. Harrie Schütze)

(Author of "The Straight Road," "The Roundabout," "Parentage," &c.)

The girl was still smiling as she slipped her last-earned penny into the pocket of her bag; then she pulled out another copy of the paper and thrust it invitingly under the notice of the hurrying passers-by. She could still feel the glow of that recent purchaser's sympathy, and it emboldened her to raise her voice and call "VOTES FOR WOMEN, VOTES FOR WOMEN, one penny!" to the people who would have passed her with averted heads.

She moved from one foot to another. She was tired. She supposed it was the piercing wind which came searching round the corner of her pitch that was making her feel suddenly miserable and depressed. She told herself that she was a fool, for she should have been feeling anything but down-hearted. The sale of her paper was better that afternoon than it had been for weeks, probably owing to the reports in last night's evening papers of some unusually flagrant brutality displayed by the police towards a woman who had plucked the Prime Minister's sleeve, as he was stepping into his carriage on his way to the King's levee. The woman had been sadly mishandled by the crowd of men who had pounced upon her, had been jostled and buffeted, thrown about and kicked, and at last, whether by accident or intent, she had landed amongst the hoofs of the plunging, rearing horses.

"Another wild woman dead"—so ran the headings of the Yellow Press. Public interest was slightly roused from its lethargy, and the Suffragette standing in the gutter sold her papers like the proverbial hot cakes.

A young man, whose manner of dress suggested his belonging to the upper classes, stopped before her and quite openly ran his eye critically up and down the contours of her figure.

"Pretty girl," he remarked; then he came a step nearer. "Pity all you Suffragettes hate men so utterly. Take my advice, go home and get a husband. He might knock a little sense into your silly head."

"Take my advice and buy a paper," she retorted. "That might knock some sense into yours—though I expect it would be difficult."

"Do you really hate men?" asked a timid little woman, proffering a penny.

The girl handed her a paper.

"No, I don't," she said, and she flushed.

The timid little woman folded up her paper thoughtfully.

"I don't see why one should—not all of them. Of course, that was a horrible young man; but you are pretty, you know, and you're brave, too, which is better. I'm not a Suffragette myself. I'm not brave enough—that's the fact of the matter."

When she had gone the girl's attention strayed. The London streets were full of people hurrying about their various avocations; no one seemed to have time to stop and buy her paper. She put her left hand into the pocket of her bag and felt a consoling heap of coins. As she fingered them, her thumb strayed down the even, unringed length of her third finger. Unexpected tears started into her eyes, but she set her teeth and choked them back. The timid little woman had said she was brave. Well, so she would be; but how she hated that young man! It seemed extraordinary to think that two such different creatures as he and her man . . .

She pulled herself up abruptly. How often must she remind herself that he was her man no longer? A woman came up and demanded a paper. She gave it her mechanically, her thoughts still busy with yesterday's happenings. How unreasonable it had all been; what cruel things he had said to her! They had cut her like a whip. He had called her unwomanly, self-advertising, selfish—and all because she had insisted that she must sell the paper instead of going to a matinee with him. At last he had bidden her to choose between the suffrage and himself. She had pleaded with him, vainly, that a woman who could be faithless to the call of duty would make a poor wife, a sorry mother; but he could only cry to her to choose, to choose! And she had chosen. All night long she had lain awake, pondering upon her misery. As morning came her steadfastness increased. What though he did mean life to her? Were there not daily hundreds of women gladly sacrificing time, comfort, even health, that she might be free? Without freedom, freedom of soul as well as of body, there could be no life. She loved him still; but she had no regrets.

Daylight was fading now, and a lamplighter came along with his tall pole, leaving a trail of flame

behind him. The door of a neighbouring public-house burst open, pushed by the burly shoulders of a staggering man. He lurched towards the girl and stopped in front of her. Obscene words poured from his lips. Coming then a step nearer, he aimed an unsteady blow at the paper she was holding, and the sheets of printed matter fell fluttering upon the pavement. Some one ran up. It was her man. He seized the other in vice-like grip, hustled his unsteady footsteps down the streets, away and out of sight.

The little crowd that had gathered, even during the few minutes occupied by the incident, melted away; everything was as before. The girl picked up the paper, tidied its ruffled sheets, and returned to her selling.

After a few minutes her man came back. He took off his hat and stood beside her in the gutter.

"I want to be forgiven," He spoke very low, but his eyes were eloquent. "I was a brute last night, I've no excuse to offer. Nothing to say except that I didn't understand. Men don't. They can't understand anyone going through so much for the sake of anything so immaterial, so abstract as ideals and convictions; so they think you do it just to fill up your time. They can't help not understanding. Politics for most of us have become a ritual rather

than a religion—all observance and no faith. It needed you, and this, to show me. I'd been thinking about what you said last night. I had to come and see how you were getting along. And then that beast . . . I never was so proud of you before, dear. I'd never realised what standing here, and doing all the other things you women do, must mean to a girl like you. I didn't know that anyone could be so brave, and now I feel I've lost you . . ."

She looked at him silently. Did he fully realise the agony of all the women who have fought for other women and for noble causes, for little children and for purity and freedom? His eyes, his hands, still pleaded. The strength of her emotion was such that she could not answer.

Suddenly, the cheery voice of her pitch captain broke in upon them.

"Tired, my dear? I'm sure you must be cold. I'll relieve you now."

She took the canvas bag from the girl's shoulders and slung it round her own.

"I shall be here on Monday at the usual time," the girl said on parting. She turned, and as her companion offered no protest to her determination, she slipped her arm in his and the pair mingled with the crowd.

CAN RESISTANCE BE JUSTIFIED?

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—

The determined action of the militant section of the Women's Suffrage Movement is raising the question in the minds of thinking persons, "Is resistance to the State ever justifiable?" It is a question that has often been discussed before, and always the answer which Englishmen have given has recognised the right of revolution under certain circumstances.

A glance at the history of our country will show that this must necessarily be so. As Dr. Clifford said a few years ago, "All our liberties are due to men who, when their conscience has compelled them, have broken the laws of the land." Even our commonest privileges have been won for us at the expense of revolt to constituted authority. The Magna Carta, that great foundation stone of our rights, had to be wrested from King John by force of arms. The predominance of the Parliament over the King was only gained at the expense of King Charles' head. Macaulay points out in his History of England that in the Middle Ages no less than six of our kings were deposed within the space of 160 years, a remarkable record of successful resistance to the powers that be.

Liberty won by Force

In religious matters, also, liberty had to be won by force. Was not the Protestant Reformation gained by determined resistance to law, although perhaps not so much in this country as abroad? Nonconformity, however, has frequently shown that it believes in the necessity of resistance to authority, when that authority is opposed to its conscientious principles. Throughout all history, therefore, we see that men have recognised the right of revolution, and at least, Englishmen should be the very last to maintain the inviolability of the civil law.

The fact is, that we have to-day a somewhat exaggerated view of the importance of law and order, and of the necessity for submission to authority. Law was not intended to be our master, but our servant. May there not be times when it is necessary to show that we are not slaves, by rising up and proving that we are its superior? If we examine the reasons usually given why men should thus submit to authority, we find that these necessarily resolve themselves into a mere question of expediency. Even a churchman like Paley can find no higher ground. In his chapter on the "Duty of Submission to Civil Government," he says:

... so long as the interest of the whole society requires it, that is, so long as the established government cannot be resisted or changed without public inconvenience, it is the will of God that the established government be obeyed, and no longer. . . . This principle being admitted, the justice of every particular case of resistance is reduced to a computation of the quality

of the danger and grievance on the one side, and of the probability and expense of redressing it on the other.

When the Law is a Bad One

This being the case, and it does not seem possible to confute it, it is easy to conceive occasions when it is not expedient that we should obey, as, for instance, when the law in question is a bad one. Says Thoreau, in his little-known essay "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience," a work that deserves the careful study of everyone in the Women's Movement:—

Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think that we should be men first and subjects afterwards. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right.

But it is only the few, he tells us, "as heroes, patriots, martyrs, reformers in the great sense," who serve the State with their consciences, "and so necessarily resist it for the most part; and they are commonly treated as enemies by it."

Such a few, surely, are the brave men and women—nay, we must reverse the order, for was it not the women who showed the way?—the brave women and men who are at present suffering under that most infamous of all measures ever passed by a so-called Liberal Government. And does it not add insult to their injury when a leading member of that Government can unblushingly praise "the daring and indomitable love of liberty which has inspired men of British blood throughout the ages," while at the same time he is torturing those who are showing that "daring and indomitable love of liberty" of which he speaks?

The Higher Patriotism

For that old English spirit is not yet dead among us, in spite of modern *laissez faire*. The higher patriotism which, instead of making enemies abroad, spends itself in fighting for the downtrodden at home, is showing itself in the efforts of the Suffrage Movement. Naturally it will come into conflict with all the forces of reaction, among them being the present Liberal Government. We would remind Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues that in their treatment of the Women's Question they have shown that it is *they* who (to use his own words) "have forgotten the history of their country." It is the Liberal Government themselves who "have overlooked the daring and indomitable love of liberty which has inspired men of British blood throughout the ages." We thank you heartily, Mr. George, for those words. If only you would apply them consistently, you might then be able to agree with us, that taking into consideration the action of the present Government, no women (to use your own words once more, merely altering the sex), "No women of spirit could endure tamely such a defiance of their fundamental liberties."—Yours, &c.,

Lester Smith.

BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS PRESENTS

AN IRISH GENTLEMAN*

George Henry Moore, who was born in 1810, was indeed, in the words of his son George Moore, "as wonderful as any character invented by Balzac or Turgenev." With a dashing and brilliant personality, an alert intellect, and the greatest zest for life and all the more daring joys of life, he combined a stern and imaginative conception of duty, and what I can only call a genius for affection. The letters that pass between him and his mother are a rather sad duel between two very loving, very proud personalities. They are written at a time when the mother fears that her son is about to ruin his career by an unauthorised love-affair. The mother wins, and the heart-broken boy goes off Byronically eastwards. He is a good traveller, and the very vitality of his melancholy makes him a delightful correspondent, and urges him towards pleasure in every form. We should like to have more of his letters from the East.

There is nothing in those early days to suggest that he will develop into the untiring and often unrecognised political and social worker both in and out of Parliament. His passion for horse-racing seems likely to absorb both his faculties and his income. He is the centre of a set of Irish sportsmen famous for hard riding, and he himself is known as "dog-Moore" on account of his famous racehorse, "Wolf-dog." Moore Hall, in Co. Mayo, was possessed of renowned stables, and the chapters dealing with this side of Moore's life, with the photographs of his slender, beautiful horses, are not the least interesting in the book. But suddenly, in the midst of a gay, reckless life, when great sums of money were being lightly lost and won, when the centre of existence was the stable—suddenly there burst upon Moore's consciousness the full dread fact of the Irish famine. Like a miasma slowly creeping up and increasing in density, the misery of the Irish peasant had been gathering over the country. Now, like some horrible, newly-created monster, it stood up complete.

Moore did not hesitate for a moment. He sold his horses, shut up his stable, and from that day devoted himself and his fortunes to the care of his tenantry and the cause of the Irish people. The story of the Irish famine from any new point of view has an unfading, if too painful, interest, and we see clearly how this vivid young man, faced for the first time in his life with the sight of starvation and misery, felt at once that there was for him no work in the world but that of serving his country. With that in view he entered Parliament, and with his fine, engaging presence, and his real eloquence, one can only suppose that he did not make more mark because he was too sincere and disinterested for a popular politician. But he accomplished a great deal, as this record shows, although the credit of much of his work must have gone to other men. Students of history—and all Suffragists ought to be students of history—will find much that is freshly interesting in this volume. To militants the chapter on political prisoners will especially appeal. How "home-like" this sounds:—

While Mr. Gladstone had been discarding on the hardships of Neapolitan prisoners, and the English people had, as usual, been eulogising foreign rebels and anathematising foreign tyranny, the Irish political prisoners had been herded with felons, working on the treadmill, and picking oakum in company with murderers and thieves.

The Fenian prisoners were, as we all know, treated worse than the Suffragists have been, even allowing for the lapse of time. But the spirit was the same—the same blind officialdom, the same refusal to make investigations. The spirit of tyranny cannot change, and will always express itself just as far as the lowest public opinion will allow.

Colonel Moore has done a service in giving us this life of his father, and the piquant preface by Mr. George Moore, while showing how delightfully unfit he is to be a biographer, is an enticing introduction to his brother's excellent work.

* "An Irish Gentleman," George Henry Moore. By Colonel Maurice George Moore, C.B., with foreword by George Moore. (London: Werner Laurie. Illustrated. Price 6s. net.)

OUR NEXT ISSUE

(Ready Wednesday, Dec. 24th)

will include the text of

A SUFFRAGE PLAY

— BY —

Miss JOAN DUGDALE,

entitled

'10 CLOWNING STREET.'

Order early from your newspaper or direct from the Publisher, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

"EIGHT O'CLOCK"

Playgoers who enjoyed St. John Ervine's "Jane Clegg" at the Court last month, will feel a particular interest in a volume just published of short sketches by the same writer. The same combination of wit and pathos, of tragedy and comedy, will be found in these sketches as in the play; and the most successful are those in which the sadness of life predominates, though Mr. Ervine never allows it to distort his vision or to upset his admirable sense of proportion. Incomparably the best thing in the book is the dialogue which comes first and gives its name to the book; we will not spoil it for the reader by revealing the gist of it. Another that comes very near it in quality is called "Colleagues," and relates with real humour the accidental encounter of the judge and the hangman at a County Assize. All the Irish studies are good; we like especially "The Well of Youth." The book is simply and most attractively bound and printed, and would make emphatically the right sort of Christmas present for the right sort of man or woman. E. S.

"SHAKESPEARE'S STORIES"

Since it is the week of the year when the connection between books and the Young Person becomes close and important, "Shakespeare's Stories," by Constance and Mary Maud, ought to find plenty of readers. The authors have taken nine of the best-known tragedies and comedies, excluding the historic and Roman plays, and turned them into straightforward English prose. They are extremely well done, and entirely avoid the grandiloquent or the sentimental in style; while some good reproductions of old pictures that accompany the stories are much above the average of the illustrations that one finds in most books of the kind. Boys and girls, who are not yet old enough to tackle the plays for themselves, will equally enjoy making their first acquaintance with Shakespeare through the medium of this book.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Shakespeare's Stories." By Constance and Mary Maud. (London: Edward Arnold. Price 5s. net.)

"Samantha on the Woman Question." By Marietta Holley. London: Revell. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

"Britannia's Daughters." A Suffrage Play. By Fanny Johnson. (From Author: Ramsey House, Barton Road, Cambridge. Price 6d.)

"Sir Almroth Wright's Case Against Woman Suffrage Answered by Bernard Shaw." (Dublin: Irish Women's Suffrage Federation. Price 1d.)

"Woman Suffrage and a Woman's Chamber: A Possible Solution." By Thomas Watson Duncan. (Glasgow: Hay Nisbet and Co., Ltd. Price not stated.)

DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENT ON BEHALF OF THE M.P.U.

A delightfully witty suffrage play, by Joan S. Dugdale, called "10, Clowning Street," formed the principal item of a most amusing variety entertainment organised by Mrs. Victor Duval on behalf of the Men's Political Union at the Cosmopolis Hall, Holborn, last Tuesday evening. We will not spoil our readers' enjoyment of the play by giving an account of it here, for they will have the pleasure of reading it for themselves in next week's VOTES FOR WOMEN. We will only say that it was admirably rendered by the Misses Doris Goode, Rita Pidot, and Madge Reynard, as the Prime Minister's three daughters, by Mr. Victor Duval and Mr. Cyril Ashford as his private secretaries, and by Mr. Mellor as a newspaper editor, prepared to run the Prime Minister's new women's Bill (for stamping out the suffrage movement) "on the same line as standard bread or the Boy Scouts." Mr. H. J. Gillespie, as the Prime Minister himself, roused continual applause from an audience to whom his "make-up," to say nothing of his acting, recalled a Prime Minister of a real political situation.

Another dramatic trifle, "An Awkward Position," was very well acted by Mrs. Victor Duval and her husband, by Miss Daisy Dugdale and Mr. A. S. Dugdale, and had a first-rate reception. The rest of the programme included excellent songs, violin and cello solos, dancing, and recitations, too many to be mentioned, but all of a high order.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's open letter to the electors, entitled "The Sheep that Defied the Dog," which appeared in our Christmas number, December 5, has now been published as a leaflet, and can be obtained from the Business Secretary, VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., price 1s. per 100, 7s. 6d. per thousand, post free.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's "Open Letter to the Bishop of London," which appeared in VOTES FOR

"Eight o'Clock and other Studies." By St. John Ervine. (London and London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Shakespeare's Stories." By Constance and Mary Maud. (London: Edward Arnold. Price 5s. net.)

WOMEN, November 21, is also published in leaflet form, and can be obtained post free 1s. per 100, or 7s. 6d. per thousand.

A Christmas greeting card, with the motto of the Fellowship in the colours, and with a book of labels, "We support those firms who advertise in our paper," can be obtained from the Business Secretary, price 1d. each (postage extra on quantities less than a dozen).

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PAPER-SELLING REPORT


Our double Christmas number is still being asked for to send to friends in place of Christmas cards; therefore, sellers are invited always to carry one or two in their satchels during the next week.

Everything encourages us to lose no opportunity of labouring for our cause, so will those who are going away for Christmas take copies away with them for sale? Rolls of six or twelve copies of the current issue can be obtained at the Fellowship Office, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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MRS. PANKHURST RE-ARREST BEFORE EXPIRY OF LICENCE Again Released on December 17!

Mrs. Pankhurst was re-arrested on the Dover express on Saturday night on her return journey from Paris, where she had been staying for a few days with Miss Christabel Pankhurst. Mrs. Pankhurst had been released from Exeter Gaol under the Cat and Mouse Act on the previous Sunday night on a seven days' licence, which had therefore not expired at the time of her arrest. The explanation given for the arrest is that Mrs. Pankhurst broke the terms of her licence by leaving the country without giving twenty-four hours' notice to the police. We remind our readers that Superintendent Quinn and other detectives were at Victoria Station to see Mrs. Pankhurst start for Paris on December 9.

Soon after the boat train left Dover two detectives and a wardress entered the compartment where were Mrs. Pankhurst, her doctor, and her nurse. They told her she must consider herself under arrest.

Extraordinary Police Precautions

At Victoria Station the most extraordinary precautions were taken by the police authorities. The entrance to the arrival platforms were strongly guarded and closed to the ordinary public. On the actual platform at which the Dover train arrived there were twenty inspectors and police drawn up two deep. All the approaches to the station were also watched, plain-clothes police were everywhere, and the police had chartered every taxi at the station. Passengers were irate and astonished at the inconveniences to which they were subjected. One man arrived in a motor to meet someone by the Dover train, and was exceedingly indignant at being prevented from doing so.

On arrival Mrs. Pankhurst was hurried away to Holloway in a taxicab, detectives accompanying her both inside and outside the car, while twelve other taxis filled with police surrounded her on the drive, and police mounted on motor-cycles were also in attendance.

RELEASED AGAIN

Mrs. Pankhurst at once adopted the hunger and thirst strike in Holloway Gaol, and was released last Wednesday morning at half-past eleven, in a state of extreme weakness, on a seven days' licence. She was taken to Lincoln's Inn House.

WHAT ENGLISHMEN PREFER

The *Chicago Evening Post*, commenting on the vast preparations made for the arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst on her arrival in England, says:—

"Is there not something wrong with the men of a country who find themselves so feeble in logic, so barren in moral resource, that they must defend themselves against so fine a feminine brain and spirit by resort to force? Lord Northcliffe said no Englishman would tolerate being ruled by women. Englishmen prefer, we suppose, to allow these women to make them ridiculous."

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press to Suffragists during the week:—

Friday, December 12.—A packet of phosphorus, addressed to Mr. Lloyd George, found in collection box East Strand Telegraph office; many letters damaged. Similar packets placed in Charing Cross Station, Southampton Street, and Agar Street offices. Label on one bottle read, "As a protest against the arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst."

Monday, December 15.—Messrs. Fox, Elliott, and Co.'s large timber wharf at Devonport destroyed by fire, which spread to Hancock's Pleasure Fair, and almost entirely demolished. Many thousands of pounds damage. Suffragist literature and messages found.

Severn Leigh, a large, unoccupied house at Bristol fired, considerable damage done to the interior of the building.

Tuesday, December 16.—A fire occurred at St. Anne's Church, Aigburth, Liverpool; the south choir stalls were burnt, the organ and interior of building damaged. Suffrage literature found.

IRISH CHARGES WITHDRAWN

On Monday in last week, at the Northern Police Court, Dublin, the adjourned case for assault on a constable against Mrs. Emerson and the counter charge for assault brought by Miss Houston against the constable, came on for hearing and were withdrawn. It will be remembered that on Sunday, November 30, a meeting was held outside Mountjoy Prison to protest against the imprisonment of Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington. At the meeting Mrs. Emerson was arrested and charged with assaulting a constable; this she admitted, but stated that she struck the constable after he had assaulted Miss Houston. Subsequently the police solicitor approached the Suffragists and offered to withdraw the case against Mrs. Emerson if Miss Houston would drop her prosecution of the police constable; this was agreed to.

POLICE RIOT IN BOW

Peaceable Procession Broken Up.—Adults and Children Attacked by Police.—Several Arrests of the Injured

Last Sunday afternoon in Bow, the police pursued the provocative tactics which now seem to characterise their dealings with Suffragists, and broke up a procession of some five hundred persons by turning suddenly upon them in a narrow, ill-lighted street after apparently protecting them along the first part of the route.

Why there was a Procession

The procession was the outcome of a meeting in Bow Palace Music Hall, and its object was to march past the houses of Borough Councillors who had voted against the letting of Borough halls to Suffragists, and to show their disapproval of this conduct by booing and hissing as they passed each respective house.

It must be remembered, in order to judge the incident fairly, that the halls had been refused to the Suffragists solely because of the riots that had taken place in the attempts made to re-arrest Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, riots entirely made, not by the audience, but by the police who raided the halls and attacked the people on the platform and anyone else who sought to resist this unwarrantable intrusion. The refusal of halls under these circumstances was therefore felt by the Suffragists of Bow to be a great injustice.

The Attack

The usual police escort shepherded the forming up of the procession outside Bow Palace, and accompanied it along the streets. One report says that the police tried to dissuade the demonstrators from parading in this manner, but this is denied by the Suffragists. In any case, no attempt was made to prevent its formation, and it was only when the procession reached Tomlins Grove, where one of the unpopular Councillors lives, that the whole attitude of the police changed. Miss Emerson, at the head of the procession, may or may not have intended to make a speech outside the house, but it is quite certain that she did not make it.

A Police Pogrom

We cannot do better than give the account of what happened in the words of the *Manchester Guardian*, which says:—

"With a sudden movement, which surprised everyone in the narrow thoroughfare, the mounted police turned their horses and moved against the crowd. The shouts of police officers directing their men to clear the streets were mingled with cries and yells of women and children, who rushed here and there to seek safety. The main body of the processionists rushed helter-skelter up and down the street in front of the mounted police, shrieking wildly and frantically at their pursuers. Women and children were thrown to the ground in the mêlée, many being trampled on in the semi-darkness in the narrow thoroughfare. Within less than a minute the street had been practically cleared, save for remnants of the mêlée—the Suffragettes' banners and numerous hats and sticks which lay on the ground. The majority of the processionists sought an exit from the street into Bow Road, and here they were followed by a detachment of mounted police, who speedily broke up any formation there was in their ranks. The whole affair occupied little more than three minutes, and at the end of that time practically nothing remained of the procession."

Why Should There be Any "Injuries"?

After saying that fortunately no one was very seriously injured, the account goes on to say:—

"In view of the unexpected and sudden charge of the police on the crowd, it is certainly surprising that no more serious consequences ensued. The street is a narrow, ill-lighted thoroughfare, and it was excessively crowded when the procession entered it. On one side runs a blank wall, and there was no shelter for women and children except in the houses on the opposite side of the street."

Arrest of the Victims

In accordance with latter-day police procedure, several of those who had been injured through this brutally illegal attack upon them were then arrested, with the exception of five children, who, says the *Daily Herald*, were carried into the police-station, and a doctor was sent for.

To give some idea of the hysterical conduct of the police, we may add that the Gasworkers' Trade Union had their banner torn and poles smashed, while their drum (for so unwelcome was the procession in its intention that it was headed by a band) was thrown over a wall after one of its sides had been kicked in.

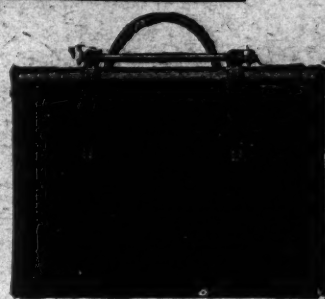
Miss Emerson, who had her arm in a sling, Miss Godfrey, and seven men were brought up at Thames Police Court on Monday and charged with assaulting and obstructing the police! (See "In the Courts," page 182). The thing would be funny to the point of farce if it were not such a degradation of our national standards of law and justice.

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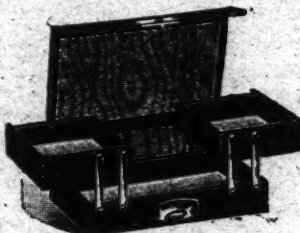


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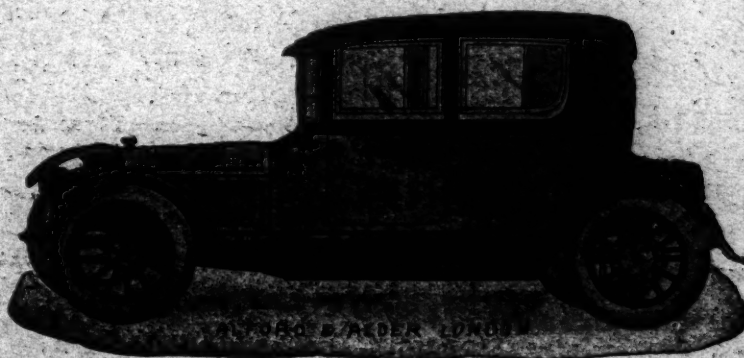
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CORRESPONDENCE

TOO EXPENSIVE TO BE A SUFFRAGETTE
A Working Woman's Opinion

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—I wonder if you will do me the honour of reading and giving your earnest attention to this letter. I hear the opinions of scores of poor respectable hard-working people here (in Wickford we are all poor). The people say, "Poor people can't own they are Suffragettes; it's too expensive." The opinions of the men are not worth recording; you have been wearied for years with similar ones.

Just to give you an example. Last week I was summoned to the court to answer to a charge of keeping a dog without a licence. True, the dog was a stray, had been shamefully ill-treated, was ill and starving, and when he recovered absolutely refused to leave me.

Well, I should dearly have loved to say, "I protest against paying the dog licence until I have a voice in the ruling of my country." But I should have been fined £2, instead of 11s. 6d., and I couldn't pay it anyway. Still, I feel ashamed, very much ashamed, that I couldn't give them my true opinion.

It's the same story with the bright young girls who go to service. The masters couldn't put up with "that sort of thing—certainly not!" And some of the wives of Liberals are very hard too.

But you want us all, don't you? Those who can't help with money can surely do something, if only by their lives. I heard a mistress say the other day, "You say she is in sympathy with that Cause. Well, if she is, I can't help it. She's the cleanest girl I ever had."

I wish you every success. How I have laughed, yes, and cried, too, over your papers! If I can do anything to help I shall be so proud.—Yours, &c.,

MABEL MASON.

Hereward Gardens, Wickford.

Re SALFORD LIBRARIES

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—Thanks to the ready response of VOTES FOR WOMEN readers, already seven of the Salford Branch Libraries are being supplied with the paper each week. There are now only two branches yet to be supplied: Charlestown Branch Reading Rooms, Whit Lane; Pendleton Branch Library, Cemetery Road, Weaste.—Yours, &c.,

FREDK. J. BAILEY.

8, Birch Street, Manchester, December 13, 1913.

SUFFRAGE PAPERS IN LIBRARIES.

Mr. W. H. Dixon (Oxford) writes:—In reference to Mr. Ernest Bell's letter you may be interested to learn that VOTES FOR WOMEN, the COMMON CAUSE, and the SUFFRAGETTE are all taken in by the Oxford Public Library.

CRUCIFYING A GREAT MOVEMENT

Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury

Those members of the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage who belong to the Anglican Church have addressed a strong letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, calling upon him "to assume responsibility for what we hold to be a Christian movement, believing as we do that the spirit of Christianity can never be eliminated from the spirit of Politics if Politics are to bring Peace on Earth, Goodwill towards Man."

Passed Out of the Realm of Politics

The letter goes on to say that at the present crisis, when such a measure as the Cat and Mouse Act has been placed on the Statute Book, and forcible feeding has been instituted "by the Government that have betrayed the women they coerce, it is obvious that the subject of Woman's Emancipation has passed out of the realm of Politics into the larger realm of Christianity itself.

"My Lord, we have, the last few years, seen women tricked, cheated and then betrayed by politicians. We have seen them forced into the market place to plead their Cause. We have seen them stoned and handed over to Mob Rule. We have seen them put into the pillory by a powerful Press, for the mentally unfit to jeer at. We have seen them preached at by the Scribes and Pharisees, and we know that Pontius Pilates live to-day to crucify great movements.

Will the Church Come Forward?

"We look, therefore, for the Established Church, born of the Crucifixion, to come forward in a Christian spirit and give its sanction and protection to this new-born cry of women for justice.

"We look to the Church to uphold the traditions of its great Founder, who was born of woman, and to show some gratitude and grace to women, who have helped to build the edifice and have worked to maintain it all down the ages.

"We Shall Withdraw Our Support"

"We look to the Lords Spiritual to give a spiritual lead to the Lords Temporal in the Upper House, and we respectfully beg to inform you that unless we can have some assurance from your Grace that we may look to you for spiritual guidance in this great question which is animating the world, we shall withdraw our support from the Institution of Christian Civilisation as one that has failed in its purpose."

The letter is signed by Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett, founder of the Federation, and by officials of each of the following branches of it: Edinburgh, Glasgow, Berwick-on-Tweed, Manchester, and Newcastle.

WOMEN AT DURHAM UNIVERSITY

Women have won a victory at Durham University, where it was decided at a Convocation held last Tuesday that women graduates of the University should be admitted to membership of Convocation on the same terms and conditions as men.

Dr. Jevons, in supporting the proposal, stated that in the Senate twenty-one members had voted for it and only one against. It was not good for the University to exclude women, as they would go to other universities. At present women students at Durham University paid the same fees, attended the same lectures, and passed the same examinations, but their equality ceased. A policy which excluded women was absolutely fatal to the growth of the University.

The "Anti" Argument

The Rev. Henry Ellershaw, Professor of English Language and Literature, contended that no harm would come to women if they were not allowed to vote in Convocation. A women's college would soon be established in Durham, and if the proposal was carried, Convocation in the future might be practically governed by women graduates.

The Bishop of Jarrow argued that the proposal was based on three principles—education, progress, and justice.

The result of the voting was as follows: For 37, against 18, spoilt paper 1, disqualified 3.

WOMEN'S SHARE IN WAR

On the occasion of the unveiling at Bloemfontein of the memorial to the Boer women and children who died in the concentration camps during the war, Miss Emily Hobhouse, in a message which was read at the ceremony, made the following fine allusions to the women's struggle for freedom in England, and the share that women take everywhere in the horrors of war.

"We in England," said Miss Hobhouse, "are ourselves still but dunces in the great world-school, our leaders still struggling with the unlearned lesson that liberty is the equal right and heritage of every child of man, without distinction of race, colour, or sex."

"Women! high or low, rich or poor, who have met here in your thousands to-day, do not go empty away. You cannot be as if these dead had not died. Your country demands also your lives and your powers, though in another way."

"These dead women . . . have shown the world that never again can it be said that woman deserves no rights as citizen because she takes no part in war. This statue stands as a denial of that assertion. Women, in equal numbers to the men, earned the right to such words as the famous Athenian uttered at the grave of his soldiers:—'They gave their bodies to the commonwealth, receiving each for her own memory praise that will never die.'"

THE MILITANCY OF MEN

The mildest form of militancy on the part of Englishwomen who have been tricked and betrayed for nearly half a century, is apt to call forth the criticism that women thereby show themselves unfit for the vote. What would be said of the men who, both in the Austrian Reichstag and the Italian Chamber, recently created scenes of uproar?

In the former, on December 10, the Ruthene Party, exasperated at the slow progress made with a Bill intended to give them a greater voice in the Government of Galicia, filled the Chamber with what the Times calls "the din of whistles, motor horns, penny trumpets, the continuous ringing of electric bells, punctuated with the slamming of desk lids." The authors of this noise had to stop up their own ears with cotton wool.

The Physical Force Argument

In the Italian Chamber on December 12 feeling between the Socialists and the Government supporters became so acute on an election question that several souffles took place, and blows were exchanged, while an endless din was kept up by the former. The sitting had to be suspended.

Following the usual line of reasoning adopted towards militant suffragists, we merely wish to ask: Are men fit for the vote?

AN ANNOUNCEMENT

We are asked to announce that Miss Abadam is seriously ill with diphtheria, and is therefore obliged to cancel all her immediate engagements. She cannot be out of danger for three weeks, and desires to be remembered in the prayers of her friends. Our readers will join with us in sincere wishes for her speedy recovery.

A CORRECTION

We regret to say that through an oversight we stated in our last week's paper that Miss Agnes Metcalfe paid the fine of 7s. and 2s. costs imposed upon her for non-payment of her dog licence. Miss Metcalfe did not pay the fine, and in default was sentenced to one day's imprisonment.

IN THE COURTS

Wednesday, December 10.—At the Nottingham Summons Court, charged with obstruction in Commercial Square, Nottingham, by allowing a horse and van to remain there for one hour, Miss Charlotte Marsh; charge dismissed.

Friday, December 12.—At the Central Criminal Court, Old Bailey, warrant issued by Mr. Justice Ridley for the arrest of Miss Lilian Lenton for failure to give herself up on a charge of firing the Kew Gardens tea pavilion. (Miss Lenton was released under the Cat and Mouse Act, and is "missing.")

Monday, December 15.—At the Thames Police Court, before Mr. Laycester, charged with assault, Miss Zelia Emerson and Miss Nellie Godfrey, remanded on bail. Mr. Cecil Green and Mr. Robert Atkinson, 21s., or 7 days' each. Mr. Charles Hilsdon and Mr. George Stone, 30s., or 15 days' each. For obstruction,

Mr. John Turner, bound over; and Mr. Henry Joing, remanded.

At the Richmond Police Court, charged with breaking a window at the Richmond Police Station, Mrs. Dorothea Boulter, fined 40s., or 10 days; fine paid by husband.

In the King's Bench Division, before Mr. Justice Ridley, Ewens and Another v. Wharry and Another—an action for trespass and destruction of property at Kew Gardens. Counsel stated that a satisfactory arrangement had been come to between the parties.

NEWS OF PRISONERS

The following Suffragists have been released on licence during the week after hunger-striking:—

Mrs. Lizzie Crow (December 10), Miss Lake (December 11), and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst (December 15).

Chapter 3

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SUFFRAGE WEEK IN DUBLIN

(From our Special Correspondent.)

The first woman's conference ever organised in Ireland has just been held (December 9-12), under the auspices of the Irishwoman's Suffrage Federation—a Federation which includes Suffrage societies throughout all parts of Ireland, and it is significant that the desire for enfranchisement was a motive power living enough and active enough to originate and carry through such a new departure in woman's work, and in what is so rightly called her "awakening."

THE RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were carried unanimously:—

1. That this Conference of Irish suffragists demands the introduction of a Government measure to extend the Parliamentary franchise to women without further delay.

2. That this Conference of Irish suffragists urges upon the Nationalist Party the necessity of enfranchising women under any new form of Government which may be established in Ireland.

3. That this Conference of Irish suffragists congratulates the Independent Nationalist Party on their consistent support of women's suffrage, and looks to them to see that the claims of women for enfranchisement are attended to in any measure dealing with the Government or electorate of Ireland.

4. That this Conference of Irish suffragists condemns in the strongest terms the torture of political prisoners by forcible feeding and the operation of the Cat and Mouse Act, and demands that such practices be immediately discontinued.

5. That this Conference of Irish suffragists congratulates the Unionist Council on its recognition of the citizenship of women, by the promise of enfranchisement in the Provisional Government, and by the admission of women to the Committees.

This Conference further hopes that the Unionist Council will use their influence with the Unionist Party in Great Britain to secure a similar recognition of the rights of women all over the United Kingdom.

The Present Position

The subject for discussion on the first day was the "Present Position of Woman's Suffrage," and Miss S. R. Day, P.L.G., Hon. Sec. Munster Woman's Franchise League, made a good point in urging that the "darting forward of the speculative mind of women, which used to be called feminine curiosity, was in reality the most important factor in the evolution of the race."

Women's Wages

The subject for December 15 was "The Conditions of Women's Work in Ireland," and the speakers were necessarily all Irish. They brought out that the average pay for a woman worker is about 5s. or 6s. a week in all parts except in Belfast, where the pay is better. On the other hand, the sweating of outworkers in Belfast is worse than in any other town. The necessity for more than one woman Factory Inspector (which is all we are allowed) was strongly emphasised.

On Thursday evening a most interesting meeting took place on "Trades Unionism and the Vote." Dr. Marion Phillips, of the Women's National Labour League, stated the point of view and needs of the woman worker as certainly it has never before been stated in Dublin, rousing the suffrage workers to new enthusiasm in their work; but, indeed, this effect was made by all the speakers at every meeting.

If Women Had Votes

Friday was the last day, and the subject dealt with was "If Women had Votes." Mrs. Webb Smithwick, W.S.P.U., gave a most moving and spiritual address, Miss Stack spoke for the Irish branch of the Church League, and Miss Thyra Potts, N.U.W.S.S., gave an interesting account of work in Bermondsey. The Rev. Saville Hicks spoke with absolute conviction of the need of woman suffrage.

In this short account it is not possible to state how much the suffrage cause has gained from this coming together, not only of Irishwomen, but of those Englishwomen who so generously came to help and encourage those on this side of the water; but so great was the success of our Conference from this point of view that we hope it may become an annual event of growing importance.

COMING EVENTS

The Actresses' Franchise League announce that their Birthday Party at the Empress Rooms, which was to have taken place on December 18, has been unavoidably postponed till January 29.

The International Suffrage Shop is holding a Book Exhibition every day from 10-8 until December 24. Suffragists are invited to visit it.

The East London Federation of the W.S.P.U. and the Kensington W.S.P.U. will hold a Suffrage School, in Bow, December 29 to January 4; in Kensington, January 5 to January 11. Tickets and all information from Miss E. Jenkins, 321, Roman Road, E.

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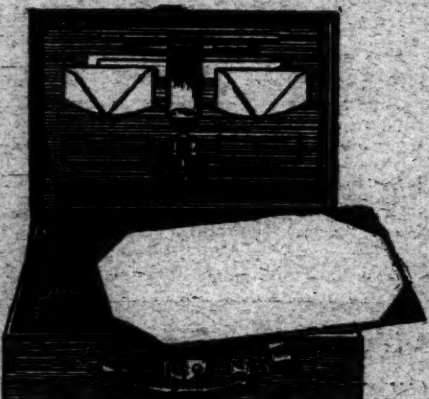
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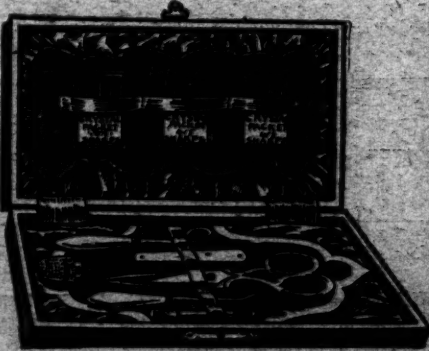
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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

ETHICAL CHURCH, Queen's Road, W. December 21, 11, Miss Maude Royden. "Mrs. Browning, A Poet of Humanity," 7, Dr. Coit, "Nietzsche's Human, all too Human."

NEW THOUGHT CHURCH.—11.15, at Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour Street. Speaker: Miss Muriel Brown. 7.15, at 78, Edgware Road. Miss Owen.

ST. MARY-AT-HILL.—Church Army Church, Bastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 6, views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE announce that the Birthday Party at the Empress Rooms on Thursday, December 18, has been unavoidably postponed till January 29.

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HANOVER.—Mrs. James Headlam recommends German lady who can take one or two English ladies in her flat. Erl. Hausing, 33, Arnswaldstrasse, Hanover, Germany.

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TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private class or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes: "Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness, while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

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